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V.—ON THE FORMS *APTEMIS*, *APTAMIS*.

In Greek dialectology there are a number of words in which an interchange between *a* and *ε* plays a role. Many such cases can be explained as arising from different degrees of ablaut, the *a* being the representative of an original nasal or liquid vowel. But there remain a few instances in which no such explanation is possible, and of these the most important example is the name of the goddess Artemis. Numerous etymologies have been proposed for this word, without any of them having obtained general approval. That proposed by Plato (*Crat.* 406 B), who derived the word from ἀρτεμής, and understood Artemis as the Undeified, the Maiden, has been revived again in modern times by Preller and Welcker, but seems at present to rest under a cloud.

The following is proposed by Bury (*Bzz. Beiträge* VII, p. 341): "Βριτόμαρτις ist der kretische titel von Artemis. Wir sind also berechtigt **Artemis* (aus *Mpremus*) zum lit. marti, 'mädchen,' 'braut' zu stellen. *ε* ist schwā (vgl. dor. **Artaμus*)."
But what is *Mpremus*? From *Mrt* it is impossible to obtain either **Apt-* or Lithuanian *mart-*. If *Βριτό-μαρτις* and Lith. *mart-i* have any connection, they must go back to *mart*, not *mrt*, which would give Lith. *mirt-*. Even if we could conceive such a monstrosity as *mrt* as the progenitor of **Apt-*, Lith. *mart-* remains unaccounted for. So the probability of any such connection as is suggested is very small. In the interchange between *a* and *ε* Bury appears to see the varying representation of the "schwā" or "irrational vowel," as, for example, in *γεν-ε-τήρ* and *θυγ-ά-τηρ*. To be sure, the treatment of the irrational vowel in Greek is not yet thoroughly cleared up, but that in the same word it should appear now as *ε*, now as *a*, is impossible.

Robert, in his new edition of Preller's *Mythology*, takes **Artaμus* as the original form, and derives it from ἀρταμέω. But the characterization of Artemis as "die Schlächterin" is to me utterly improbable. While in poetry Artemis is represented chiefly as a huntress, this is not an original attribute, as is shown by the various cults, especially that of Arcadia. Leaving, then, all these etymologies as too uncertain to be of any assistance in determining the priority of the two forms, I pass to an exact consideration of the preferences of the various dialects. In Gustav Meyer's *Griechische Grammatik*, p. 64, we find the following statement: "**Artaμus* aus

Inschriften von Kreta, Korkyra, Rhodos, Sicilien als allgemein dorisch erwiesen, ebenso auf boötischen Inschriften: ion. att. lesb. "Ἀρτεμυς." The case, however, is not so simple, and I think that the following statistics¹ will show that the statement is at least inexact.

Ion.-Att. "Ἀρτεμυς.

Aeolic (as represented in its purity by Lesbian). "Ἀρτεμυς.

Arcado-Cyprian. "Ἀρτεμυς (only one occurrence; cf. Bull. corr. hell. VII 488 ff.; Meister, Gr. Dialekte, II 78).

Let us now consider the Doric dialects and those in which the Doric element is strongly represented.

1. Lakonian. 'Ἀρτεμῶ² (C. I. G. 1436); 'Ἀρτέμιδι (three times, Foucart in Le Bas and Waddington 162 a, d, j); 'Ἀρτέμιτι (twice, Fouc. 162 b, C. I. G. 1416); 'Ἀρτέμιδος (twice, C. I. G. 1444); 'Ἀρτεμίδωρος (C. I. G. 1364); 'Ἀρτεμιτίου (Fouc. 194 b); *in all, ten times* 'Ἀρτεμ-, *not once* 'Ἀρταμ-. These inscriptions are, indeed, of a late date, but with two exceptions written in the local dialect. Also in Alkman we find 'Ἀρτέμιτος (101 B, Bergk). In the chorus of the Lysistrata stand 'Ἀρταμιτίω (1251) and 'Ἀρταμι (1262), but the inexactness of Aristophanes' imitations of the dialects is well known.

2. Messenian. 'Ἀρτέμιδι (Fouc. 311 a; in the same inscription stands ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Μεσση-); 'Ἀρτέμιτος (twice, Fouc. 296).

3. Argive. Argos. 'Ἀρτάμι (Fouc. 109 a = Cauer² 57).

Epidaurus. 'Ἀρτάμιτος (Baunack, Stud. I 1, No. 71).

'Ἀρτάμντι (C. I. G. 1172); but 'Ἀρτέμιδι (three times, Baun. Nos. 48, 98; Fouc. 147 a).

'Ἀρτέμιδος (twice, Baun. 52; C. I. G. 1173); 'Ἀρτεμίδωρος (Fouc. 156 a¹).

Two of these inscriptions are written in the κοινή, and so to be left out of account.

4. Corinthian. Phleius. 'Ἀρτάμ[ιτος] (Collitz 3171).

Corcyra. 'Ἀρτάμιτι (twice, Coll. 3206, 3211), but 'Ἀρτεμιτίου, 'Ἀρτεμιτίω in the same inscription (3206).

Apollonia. 'Ἀρτάμιτι (Coll. 3221); 'Ἀρτέμιτι (Coll. 3222).

Acae. 'Ἀρτέμων, 'Ἀρτέμωνος (Coll. 3243, 3245); 'Ἀρτεμίδωρος, 'Ἀρτεμιτίω (Coll. 3246).

5. Megara. 'Ἀρτάμιτι (Coll. 3026); but in an inscription recently discovered at Epidaurus and written in the Megarian dialect ('Εφ. ἀρχ. '87, 9; Baunack Stud. I 2, 220 ff.), are to be found 'Ἀρτεμίδωρος (l. 73) and 'Ἀρταμίδωρος (l. 93). In the published text we find

¹ I am obliged to Dr. Joh. Baunack for kindly allowing me to look through some of his private indices to the scattered Peloponnesian inscriptions.

² It is, of course, necessary to include the proper names related to Artemis.

'Αρτεμίδωρος in both cases, but the stone has this spring been newly examined by Baunack, who has informed me that in line 93 the reading is certainly 'Αρταμίδωρος.

6. Crete. Gortyna. "Αρτεμιν (Law Code, III 6, 7).

Dreros. "Αρτεμιν (Cauer² 121, 25).

Eleutherae. 'Αρτέμιδι (C. I. G. 2565), also 'Αρτεμι[σ]ί[α] (C. I. G. 2568), but this is written in Attic *κουνή*.

The 'Αρταμιτίου on one of the "in dialektischer Beziehung ganz fragwürdigen Beschlusse kret. Gemeinden die Steinmetzen der ion. Insel Teos eingehauen haben" (C. I. G. 3052, cf. G. Meyer, Gr. Gram. p. xxiii), should not be passed over in silence, but cannot be regarded as certain Cretan.

7. The other Doric Islands.

Rhodos. 'Αρτάμιτος (three times, Cauer 189, 190; Bull. corr. hell. '85, p. 100); but 'Αρτεμίδωρον (Newton, Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum 343, l. 62. *Δαμάτριος* stands in the preceding line). On the Rhodian vases we find very frequently 'Αρταμιτίου ('Αθην. '75, p. 222 ff.; Dumont, Inscriptions Céramique de Grèce, frequently); but also 'Αρτεμίδωρος (Dumont, p. 86, No. 74).

Anaphe. 'Αρτέμιτι (C. I. G. 2481, in the same inscription *τὰς ματρός*).

To sum up the statistics in reference to the Doric dialects, we find that in three of them 'Αρτεμ- is the only form found in the inscriptions (leaving the Teian inscription out of account), while in the others the two forms occur with nearly equal frequency.

'Αρτεμ- is also the regular and only form of the "Achaëic-Doric *κουνή*," which was so widespread by the influence of the Achaean and Aetolian leagues.

1. Aetolia. 'Αρτέμιτος (twice, Coll. 1428 h).

2. Phthiotis. 'Αρτέμιδι (twice, Coll. 1464, 1465).

3. Aeneia. 'Αρτεμι[τίου] (Coll. 1435²).

4. Phocis. Abae. 'Αρτέμιτι (Coll. 1513).

Delphi. 'Αρτέμιτι (Wescher et Foucart, Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes, No. 145); 'Αρτεμισία (W. and F. 74), 'Αρτεμίδωρος (five times, W. and F. Nos. 75, 182, 235, 239, 307); 'Αρτέμων, 'Αρτέμωνος, 'Αρτέμωνα (W. and F. 216).

From the period when actual local dialects were spoken in these regions we have only one example of the word, and that from Delphi, 'Αρτάμι[τος] (Cauer² 194).

We come now to the several mixed dialects, of which the Boeotian alone furnishes examples of the word. In this the form 'Αρταμ-

has its strongest representation. The Boeotians were actually more "Doric" than the Dorians. In the collection of Collitz we find for the name of the goddess about a dozen cases of the forms with *a* and not a single example with *ε*. Among the related proper names *'Ατραμ-* occurs twice, and *'Απρεμ-* four times. But during the recent excavations carried on at Anthedon under the direction of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, two inscriptions¹ came to light which show the usual orthographical peculiarities of Boeotian, and at the same time have each the form *'Απρέμδι*.

Locrian, Elean, and Thessalian offer no examples.

Thus we have followed the word through all the dialects without having found one in which *'Ατραμ-* is the only form, while *'Απρεμ-*, on the other hand, is the only form in three Doric dialects and in the Achaëic-Doric *κοινή*, not to speak of Ion-Attic, Lesbian, and Arcado-Cyprian. After these facts, can any one hold *'Ατραμ-* as the distinctively Doric form, and regard the numerous cases of *'Απρεμ-* as borrowed from other dialects?

The Lakonian and Messenian inscriptions are late, to be sure, but show no trace of the Attic *κοινή*. For the Gortynian inscription any such influence is, of course, out of the question. Hoffmann (*De mixtis graecae linguae dialectis*) claims to find Achaëic influence in Cretan (he uses Achaëic in the sense of an independent dialect which he supposes to have been spoken throughout the Peloponnesus in the time of the Atreidae, and out of which the Arcadian and Cyprian arose), and so he might regard *'Απρεμ-* as a non-Doric element, but he has carried the sphere of dialect-mixture to an extravagant extent which will be approved by few.

If, then, as we have found, the form *'Ατραμ-* has such a small representation compared with *'Απρεμ-*, we are certainly not justified in regarding the former as the original and building an etymology upon it, as Robert does. According to all probability *'Απρεμς* is the original form, and every attempt to find an etymology should take this as the basis. How *'Ατραμ-* arose out of *'Απρεμ-* I do not venture to say; possibly by assimilation of the second vowel to the first. Be that as it may, I trust that it may not be without advantage to have the usage of the various dialects in regard to the word exactly stated.

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¹ See American Journal of Archaeology, 1889, No. 4.